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ABSTRACT

A study, examining why some students in a credentials program chose not to become teachers, had three purposes: (1) to describe processes involved in becoming a "statistical dropout"; (2) to describe unsuccessful recruitment and socialization processes to improve the knowledge base and to understand where future interventions could be made; and (3) to learn more about the recruitment/socialization/control issue by studying negative cases (those who decided not to pursue a teaching career after completing preservice training). Interviews were held with subjects at the completion of their five year credential program at the University of California, Santa Barbara. During the initial screening interviews, various categories of "reasons" for not seeking a teaching position emerged: (1) "attractive career alternative"; (2) "basic value conflict with the orientation of the profession"; and (3) "hesitancy to set up an adult life structure." The decision not to teach was seen by all subjects as an "inner directed" decision, and individual reasons given for decisions were all based on value conflicts. Case studies of individuals representing each category are included. (JM)

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The Process of Deciding Not to Become a Teacher

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1. Purpose of Study/ Problem Investigated

The rational model of teacher education is based on a production line analogy: Input → Output. Yet research[1] has shown that after completing the requirements for a teaching credential 30% of the products slip off the production line i.e. 30% of preservice teachers opt not to seek a teaching position. Lortie and Bidwell[2] have both stated that recruitment and socialization are key issues in control in educational organizations. The purpose of this study was threefold:

1. to describe the processes involved in becoming a "statistical dropout".
2. to describe recruitment and socialization that failed in order to improve the knowledge base about this process and to understand where possible future interventions could be made.
3. to learn more about the recruitment/socialization/ control issue by studying negative cases i.e. those who decide not to pursue a teaching career after completing preservice training.

Specific research questions were: How does one not become a teacher? Who decides not to seek a teaching job? How do they decide not to? When is the decision made? What are the contributing factors? Are there common patterns? What are the costs involved in such a decision?

2. Relevant Literature

Literature in six major areas was reviewed in order to reach the problem definition. Most critical in the formation of data collection strategies and specific interview questions was the literature base in the sociology of teaching and general occupational sociology. The structured interview Dan Lortie developed for his work in Schoolteacher[3] was borrowed from generously. Readings by Howard Becker[4] led to the development of several paths of questioning.

Lortie describes in Schoolteacher the pattern of orientations and sentiments which is peculiar to teachers and which distinguishes them from members of other occupations. Data collection techniques in this study were geared towards gathering information on the subjects' orientations and sentiments. Discrepencies in orientations between the subjects in this study and Lortie's were analyzed as possible contribuiting factors in deciding not to become a teacher.

Becker has provided a model of the socialization process into an occupation.[4] He describes four elements of work identification:

1. occupational title, and associated ideoogy.
2. commitment to task.
3. commitment to particular organizations or instituitional positions.
4. significance for one's position in the larger society: tending to specify the positions appropriate for a person doing such work or which have become possible for him by virtue of his work e.g. social class position and opportunities opened up or closed off by such work.

Interview questions were designed which explored the operation of this model in a non-socialization or non-identification situation. The operation of this model in negative case situations contribuited to general data analysis.

Adult development literature[5] provided contextual background for the process of "setting up a life structure", "developing a dream", or in the terms of occupational sociology "developing an occupational commitment". This literature was most significant in sensitizing the researcher to the possible turmoil and confusion involved at times in this process-- something not always evident in the more purely sociological literature. The impact of this psychological literature may not be as evident in the content of this research study as the more sociological, but hopefully its impact was evident in the research process itself.

Literature on cognitive development of teachers[6] suggested a model of concerns first with self, then content, then students in the successful socialization of teachers. Blockages at any stage of development suggested contribuiting factors in the socialization/training process.

Literature on teacher effectiveness[7] has suggested that a proactive teaching stance, a high energy level, abilities to be "with-it", to have skills of "over-lapping", to have the ability to deal with ambiguity, and high stress levels are all contribuiting factors in being labeled effective as a teacher. Questions were included in the data collection that elicited information about the presence or absence of these qualities in other areas of the subjects' lives. Analysis of this data allowed some speculation about the contribuition of occupational "fit" in the decision not to become a teacher.

An overview of survey research on preservice education of teachers[8] provided data on the larger population from which the sample was drawn. A survey of biographical data of the subjects in this specific study allowed a discussion of "representativeness" of the data in the analysis.

3.Methodology

Out of this literature review guiding propositions were developed which provided the direction for a series of structured interviews held at the end of fifth year credential programs at a campus of the University of California in two consecutive academic years (1980-81 and 1981-82).

During year one the campus placement office served as a resource in identifying 23 students who were completing their credential program year but were not actively seeking a teaching

position. Initial screening interviews were held with all 23 subjects. Out of this screening process three students were chosen as primary subjects, and three students were chosen as secondary subjects for a pilot study. Results from the pilot study were utilized for a more broad based study in year two (1981-82): fifteen students were interviewed and observed throughout their credential program year. Several of these students became a second set of primary subjects.[9] The remaining 55 students completing their credentials during the 1981-82 school year served as secondary subjects.

A survey of biographical data was done on each primary and secondary subject. Official records and personal documents served as both crosschecks to the validity of interview data and as a data source for the secondary sample. Analytical crosschecks were provided by moving back and forth across literature bases.

Primary subjects in both years were a "purposive sample". Both samples were chosen according to the following criteria:

1. accessibility i.e. they agreed to be involved in further interviews.
2. they had originally intended to seek a teaching job when they entered the program.
3. they were representative of the total sample--each represented a "reason" given by more than one initial subject for not seeking a teaching job.
4. assessment by myself that adequate rapport could be established in a relatively short period. This included the subject's ability to articulate ideas and opinions.

4. Problems

During the initial screening interviews various categories of "reasons" for not seeking a teaching position emerged. Each of the primary subjects was chosen to represent one of those categories. At the stage of data analysis the delineation of clear independent variables which set theze subjects apart from their peers was difficult. Instead the interview data consisted

of a set of "stories"-- stories created by individuals that helped them make sense of a highly personal decisionmaking process. Each person through the interviews had created a logical, rational explanation that helped him/her make sense of their experience, supported their decision and preserved their self concept and their social image. Follow-up data during the 1982-83 school year confirmed this interpretation. In order to present the findings/results of this study a composite case description illustrative of each category was developed. Concepts from the various literature bases which help us "understand" their stories are then explored.

5. Findings

Specific findings will be introduced through a case study approach. As previously stated, various categories of "reasons" for not seeking a teaching position emerged in the initial screening interviews. Each of the primary subjects was chosen to represent one category. Figure 1 visually represents the categories and the case study which exemplifies each.

fig. 1

SUBJECT	Case One Bob Smith	Case Two Susan Johnson	Case Three Diana Hillston
CATEGORY	"Attractive Career Alternative"	"Basic Value Conflict with the Orientation of the Profession"	"Hesitancy to Set up an Adult Life Structure"
METAPHOR	"The High Achiever"	"The Radical"	"The Partier"

The case studies which follow contain common patterns of rethinking issues of independence and conflicts with various orientations of the profession. In relation to the general research question, the reader might ask as he/she reads, "What control function is served by this person not being recruited into the field of teaching?" Interpretation of results follows the case studies.

Case 1: Bob Smith

Bob Smith is 23 years old, looks like Robert Redford, is articulate, energetic, warm, nurturing, has "always" wanted to be a teacher, and will be working in a public relations job starting in July. Bob is perhaps the most visible student in the credential program-- for reasons that will become obvious. When it became known that Bob was not going to be working in education next year one faculty member quipped "Bob's going to skip teaching and go straight for the governorship".

Bob did not hesitate when asked to be a subject for this study. He felt the opportunity to "reflect on his decision" would be most worthwhile. I was anxious to have him as a subject. He fit the category of "attractive career alternatives". He was one of the few male subjects that I felt fit the criteria of being an articulate informant, and I definitely wanted one male in the study.

We spent approximately 6-7 hours together while Bob told his story. (He proved to be so"articulate"interviews planned for one hour always lasted more than two hours by mutual consent).

Bob began his story by telling me about his family and where he came from. He grew up in the Los Angeles area in a very close knit family of which he was the youngest child. His father is a truck driver and his mother works as a clerk. Bob was the first member of his family to graduate from a 4 year college-- his older sister took business courses sporadically at a junior college, and his older brother completed an AA degree in Police Science after a stint in the Marines and before he became a police officer in the Bay area.

Bob speaks of his father as a major influence in his life. When asked what attractions teaching had held for him he told this story:

> "My father was a corpsman in the Navy. When he came back he was too old for medical school. He applied to every nursing school in the country--only one would accept him because he was male. . .that might have influenced . . .or reflects on. . .my attraction to elementary education--I always felt some desire to push traditional roles."

While Bob was an undergraduate at UCSB he was a member of the most prestigious fraternity on campus and president of the inter-fraternity council. During his undergraduate years Bob was constantly aware of the value conflict that would ultimately lead him to decide not to be a teacher. His life in the fraternity exposed him to people who came from very different backgrounds than he did. He often felt he was almost smug in his advocacy of "non-money oriented values". Bob said one girl he had dated had accused him of being "so damn proud of your mediocrity." Bob became more and more aware of the ways he could "put money to good use" (including a self-financed trip to Europe after he graduated).

He remained committed to the career he had chosen "so far back I can hardly remember", however.

> "My 4th grade teacher was a male. He really helped me. I made a very early decision that I wanted to teach, but I wasn't sure what-- at one time it was high school math . . ."

As he looks back he had alot of positive experiences in school and in helping people. School felt good and he thought it would in the future.

> "My plans were laid out in high school. Maybe that wasn't the best thing fore me, but at the time I saw it as really positive."

> "After high school I went to Humboldt State to play waterpolo. I thought at one time I would go to the Olympics. That didn't work out.

Bob decided to give up the waterpolo scholarship at Humboldt and came to UCSB as a sophmore. He came to accept the fact that his dream of the Olympics was not going to happen and poured himself into preparing for his career:

> "I took all the requirements--the diversified requirements and all the prerequisites for education classes. There were lots of units to do. I spent hours planning how to graduate in 4 years. My parents were putting me through, and even if others were taking 5 years I wanted to do it in 4. The preprofessional program required 4 hours of work a week. I also wanted to get into some graduate level classes-- at that time the only undergrad course was statistics. I couldn't do that so I put in more time in preprofessional work--12-15 hours a week. I worked in the resource room with _____-- a super lady who made me feel good."

When I asked if there were any other careers that Bob had considered seriously he replied:

> "High school counseling-- all things in education. At one point I thought about being a year long lifeguard--the money would be better (than teaching), but education and learning were too important to me and I had to use them."

When asked what qualities and skills he felt were necessary to be an effective teacher, Bob replied:

> "You need a little bit of skill in everything from physical skills in moving things and p.e. to thinking skills to the artistic and creative to the interpersonal. One of the most important skills is a kind of perception and openness--non-dogmatism. You also need humanistic skills--thoughtfulness, caring, sharing, tolerance. You also need a strong knowledge background."

Bob could not imagine any other jobs that would involve such a diversity of skills:

> "There are alot of jobs that are one chunk or the other like social work or emergency work, but in each of these one whole part of the scope is missing."

Bob applied for the 1980-81 credential program in 1979 and was immediately accepted:

> "I applied a year in advance because I was going to Europe and I didn't know where I would be next year for the interview."

Two different letters of recommendation from his field experience contain the statement "the best I ever worked with".

After Bob was accepted in the credential program and bis life seemed nicely tied together a critical event occurred:

> "In my senior year through my fraternity I met a man who got a job here in the ____ Medical Clinic. He was about 30 and his wife and kids were in Salt Lake. He came by the house and we started talking. He stayed for dinner and we became good friends. When I left for Europe he was still here. I got a letter in July that he went back to Salt Lake. He said he could use help and was I interested. I turned him down because I was clear I was going into education after Europe. He wrote me again in November and said that in the last three weeks he had gotten 3 $100.000 contracts and he needed help."

Bob at this point brought in the context of his own background. He comes from a middle class family and considers himself to have very middle class values. His goal had always been to find a job he was very happy with, and to settle down and live his life. His interaction with Ron was leading to lots of value contrasts. At this point, he only knew Ron was trying to form a consulting firm and that he was a professional fund raiser.

Bob found himself thinking more and more about the conflict/decision. He talked to alot of people including his parents. He knew he had to go through the program-- it had been a goal for too long.

He came home a little early from Europe so he could go to Salt Lake and talk more to Ron. They went skiing and he was"treated like a god." Ron and he reached a mutual decision that Bob should go through with the decision he had made to go into the credential program. If he wanted the job when he was finished it would be there.

This was the context for Bob's entry into the credential program year. Teaching definitely had a strong competitor: a job with high prospects of monetary reward and prestige was waiting in the wings.

It is important to remember that as an undergraduate Bob led a very busy life.

> "I was involved in lots of campus organizations. . . sports and volunteer work. I will always be involved in things besides my main job. Next year I may take language classes or dance classes. The credential program would definitely not have been enough to keep me busy."

Bob found opportunities for involvement and growth in the credential program that no one had "known" were there:

> " One of my biggest concerns was my values about relating to people with a different value structure. I always wondered about"those people" (i.e. the wealthy). I almost had a contempt for wealth and thought that a tight family structure was more important. I wondered if I could fit into the business world and how I would feel about the people I worked with."

The opportunity to be president of the Graduate Students Assoc came up. While he worked in this position during the program he found himself meeting and dealing with the Regents. This gave him a greater grasp of how to deal with people who were on a "different" level. He began to see his previous contempt as a reflection of his insecurity. The GSA experience helped him in his conflict and led to the decision to go into business.

He found his dealings with the Regents, etc. weren't any different than his relationship with other people. He dealt with the governor, state supt. etc and at first he thought "WHOA!"--now he has the perception that people on the other level are no big deal. He still feels "jazzed", but when he gets that "under control" he is "ok". He feels himself moving forward.

Teaching in the future became a dimmer and dimmer prospect for Bob. When asked if his views of teaching as attractive work changed in the course of the program, Bob replied:

> "Not really--the changes have been more in terms of my values and attitudes. Some of my old values have become stronger--owning a house for example. In my place I'd have to move back east as a teacher and be married with both people working to own a house. I'm not planning on getting married now and in teaching I'd never get out of an apartment. . . Now I want a real house-- even a dog maybe."

There was some hint that teaching had not quite lived up to his expectations: I asked him "How do you feel about yourself as a teacher now?" Bob replied:

> "I think I could be good. I could be better than I will be for the rest of the year. I am somewhat stifled--there is a distraction in the back of my mind. The probability of teaching in the future is very slim.
>
> I feel somewhat insecure as a teacher--but I'm insecure in lots of ways. I need lots of feedback. I feel I could be a pretty good teacher though.
>
> In general I feel something blocking me. I have this creative energy ready to be unleashed on society. . . .
>
> The mental blocks are like a wall-- I need the time to devote to one thing. Something is there-- if I can control it I'd be really good at something. I have to find the means before I die or I will feel that I have failed.
>
> If I could find what I'm going to do--if I don't tap into that energy/creativity I could become a good teacher, but my potential won't be met.

When asked what obstacles he saw (to feeling like a good teacher) Bob replied:

> "Experience--It's not the instituition. I feel there is room for my humanism in schools-- it's not welcoming me with open arms, but there is room for it. I don't feel society/education would stifle me. Traditional lines are basically ok with me. With order and quiet things can still click with kids. You can still raise kids' consciousness and their knowledge level within the system."

Bob was very "clear" in his reasons for not teaching:

> "The contrasts were my committment to teaching and a middle class life vs. my experiences in Europe and the increasing awareness that there were lots of ways I could put money to good use."

Entries from the journal Bob kept during his first student teaching assignment provide some background on what Bob was experienceing "at school" while he was making his decision:

> "After lunch I had the pleasure of walking two students around to all the classes to find a missing shoe. It appears that one got mad at the other and threw his shoe. It was nowhere to be found-- Although I found this 'experience' to be a bit embarassing, I made the most of it and now have a better idea of the campus layout and the location of most classes."

Another entry:

> "And so goes another day. . . this one was definitely on the downbeat. Other than opening I did very little in the class--No P.E. today. Sat around correcting papers and helping a student here and there. It really got boring. Felt as though I was useless. Lots of things that I wanted to talk to Mrs. C. about, and got to , but there was no interest. I feel like I've slipped from my position. . . as a teacher. Could be the slump after the storm. The demands of last week kept me so busy. Now we've started classes (which haven't proven to be all that challenging) and it seems we've cut down the work in the schools. The strong point to all of this is that I've got time for myself--something which I haven't had for a long time. Nice, but at this point I think I'd rather be busy."

There were "up" days also. A postscript to another entry reads: "I found the shoe!".

Bob began his public relations job July 1. He's made alot of friends among little and big people while in the credential program. Two poems appear in the school anthology where he first student taught about the "sadness" when Mr. Smith left for his second student teaching assignment. He is also on a first name basis with the state supt. I'm sure Bob will repeat his pattern in Salt Lake--he's already promised to introduce me to Robert Redford after they work on the MX Missle campaign together.

When asked to assess the relative Costs/Benefits of the year he spent preparing to be a teacher, Bob said:

> "I got so much out of it. I needed another year before I went to Salt Lake. I was not prepared to make a decision. I needed to know how I felt about teaching. I might have found teaching too painful to leave. The monetary cost is probobaly the only cost, but it was planned for so it was ok. The benefits were 10 times the cost.
>
> If I didn't do this I would have always regretted it--would have said I should have gone through the program. This is something I wanted too long. I would have disappointed myself and my relatives. They would have supported me but been disappointed.".

Bob is amazed at what he has learned about himself and the skills he has acquired:

"I've learned what to let slide and how to manage my time--I'm amazed at what I have been able to pull off. All the activities and good grades, too."

When asked how he would sum up his experience, Bob stated:

"The major factor in my decision is the social view--social status of teachers".

Case 2: Susan Johnson

Susan Johnson is 24 years old, financed most of her own undergraduate education by working as an instructional aide in an elementary classroom, entered the credential program with a 3.8 gradepoint average in her major, and is now preparing to take her LSAT exams in order to apply for law school in 1982. Susan and I spent approximately 4-5 hours together in the spring quarter while she told me her story of not becoming a teacher. Some excerpts from my own notes provide some context for these interviews:

"A few comments on Susan's apartment. I often find myself looking around the room. Susan has a male roommate who is an engineer and the combination of their interests are amazing. There is a complete APPLE II computer set up in the living room. The room is full of books, magazines, artwork,etc all well organized and very attractively done. There is a huge window looking over a natural area, which makes the apartment very bright and sunny--but comfortably so (even on a day when the temperature reached 90 degrees!). Susan always has something to offer me--the first day she had vegetables cut up because she remembered I was into healthy foods. Today we had iced tea in beautiful glasses. I have this very strong feeling that I really like Susan--she is a beautiful young human being and I enjoy our time together immensely."

I include these comments to point out that the following comments hardly come from an angry young radical. I picked Susan for the study, because of her representation of the category "value conflicts with the field".

Susan began her story by telling me how she happened to enter the credential program:

"It was a process of elimination. I was an English major--what do you do with that? I went to San Diego State and City College. I changed to a Liberal Studies major. Option II covered education and gave me options. I got a teacher's aide job and enjoyed it. I worked in a 6th grade and then a special ed. class. I decided to purue a credential. My mother is a teacher. She tried to discourage me in being a teacher, yet she accepted my decision. I finally decided about my junior year."

Teaching held certain attractions for Susan:

> "Primarily the chance to work with children. The children I worked with in my aide job needed someone and I loved them.
>
> I didn't care about money. I didn't have material goals. I figured teaching would give me enough money to be comfortable.
>
> When I got into it I discovered that kids were the last part of teaching."

Susan felt her decision had basically been made by default--career education had not played much of a part in her school experience:

> "High school counselors usually spent most of their time on emotional problems.
>
> The junior college couselor who I talked to about my English major told me to take the wrong courses. The advice was worthless so after that I didn't talk to anyone--I just figured things out for myself."

Susan only fleetingly considered other career options:

> "--law. My father pushed me, but I chose not to do it. I was stubborn. Something in the music field--perhaps music therapy. But I didn't have the time or energy for the 5-6 hours of practice I needed in the music field."

Susan was sure when she entered the credential program that she was well-suited for teaching:

> "I thought I had a good attitude towards kids. I didn't see it as ego fulfillment. I was patient. Respected kids I was youthful and active and could share lots with them.I had a wide variety of experiences so I could relate to them.
>
> I was non-materialistic--I wouldn't know what to do with lots of money.
>
> I was good at organizing things--my classroom would be structured but relaxed. I had an ideal in my mind.
>
> I had a wide variety of talents--music, p.e."

Unfortunately her experience with teaching was different than she had expected:

> "In my student teaching experience there was a large amount of chaos. The teacher tried to deal with it without getting angry. Dealing with 30 children was tremendously frustrating. I couldn't meet their needs. I found myself short of patience. Losing my patience was extremely discouraging. I became frustrated when I found the kids 'pestering'.

I became frustrated with the impossible situation. I had to give them workbooks which were worthless. No wonder they were angry and frustrated. Rules like 'you can't talk in line--why not?

The situation was geared towards what the teacher wanted not the kids needs. My anger with the adults led to frustration with the kids.

The things I was being told frustrated me. The contrast between behavior modification and an emphasis on more open kinds of teaching, ways of being with kids. I saw it as structured emotionalism. The reason we have to do these things is the situation of having 30 kids. If the situation were changed we wouldn't need behavior modification. I see it as teacher as robot. 'I like the way Johnny is sitting quietly'. It was phoney. The kids know it. It bothered me.

The curriculum is way off base. By 6 years old you're supposed to do such and such. We're mass producing people. Dr. _____spoke in the program. Some things he said were extreme, but he was right-- we've become too far removed from the fact that we're dealing with people.

My view had been more ideal. I imagined happy little kids liking school. If a kid's learning doesn't come early it's seen as not good. We're not supportive of kids-- the competition is all pervasive. The curriculum encourages it--testing,pressure to do well, number labels on kids. It seems bizarre to me."

Susan was disappointed with teachers as well as the school structure:

"I felt I had a pretty good exposure to teaching before. I was disappointed in the people I worked with. I didn't have much in common with the people in the school. I didn't voice my opinions. The teachers in the school were not interesting or intelligent. They were bored and the kids picked that up. As role models they were terrible. They had no love of learning, nor was learning important to them. Overall I got the feeling that no one had the feeling that learning was important. I feel that nothing compares with the feeling of learning something. I didn't feel one person could have an influence. School may be a drag--learning isn't!"

Her student teacher colleagues played into her decision to drop out of the credential program:

"I didn't feel I had much in common with too many. A few said 'I know what you mean'. I didn't put out my opinions too much. If they felt ok I didn't want to put them down. Graduate students didn't question--myself included. We accepted what the professors said. The trend of conversation in like Dr. _____'s ...they

say what Dr. _____ wants to hear. The students weren't thinking, or I felt they weren't. We can all pick out what the professor thinks and feed that back.

Another thing. Teaching and the way it was seen by the women as part time work--they didn't see it as a career. They expected income to come from their husbands. I didn't identify with that. I didn't see many deep thinkers."

When asked how she had felt about herself as a teacher, Susan replied:

"Stifled--I couldn't teach what I wanted to teach. I think given the opportunity I could be a good teacher. If I had to I could go take over now-- I didn't need another 6 more months. But I would handle it in ways I wouln't like. I can do that- I can be very controlled."

Susan talked about the process of deciding not to teach:

"It took place over a period of time. I talked to my sister and the man she is living with who is a music professor. They gave me support and listened to me. His view of teaching is not very positive.

The month of January really gave me time to think. I would walk out of classes after finding them not even moderately interesting. _____ 's was somewhat. Others were not stimulating at all.

It happened in a series of thinking things out. My supervisor said 'don't quit--you'll be glad if you stick with it'. I am not a quitter, and I realized that was the only reason I was hanging in there. I knew I could be using my time to be more satisfied.

The final decision was made after a job placement lecture. She was talking away and my thoughts were going so fast it seemed she was talking another language. I left and never went back.

Afterwards everything fell into place. It was a good time to enroll in city college classes. I was given more hours at work. At first I felt I couldn't make the decision for financial reasons."

Susan shared her decision with her parents who are divorced in different ways:

"My mother was down 2 weeks before. I tried to prepare her. She told me she would support whatever decision I made. Her initial reaction was though that she blew her stack. 'Who gave you this advice?' Then she settled down and it was ok.

My father I haven't told. He knows I'm taking the LSAT and probobaly won't teach. I decided not to tell him I 'quit school.' He is conservative and his kids are very radical. I'm the youngest of 5. I've followed the most conservative path. He's in his own world and won't know the difference anyway. So I decided why upset him?"

When asked what part the university program played in her decision, Susan replied:

"My overall feeling about the program was that things are not as they should be. I feel they are trying to take the same system and modernize it. I feel you have to start over. Maybe it is not fair to say that they have to teach how to change the system. --We need to know how much leeway do we have before we get stopped? We need to know how to change schools."

Susan was asked to replay her experience in the credential program with the ending "Susan becomes a teacher and lives happily ever after". She felt there would have to be some changes in basic orientation:

"That's an important question because I shouldn't criticize without suggestions.

I feel you are doing an effective job in the program if your goal is to put teachers into the existing system. My criticism is that it is too realistic, too negative. At least once a week we are told to 'work within the system'.

We need encouragement and alternatives: to be told 'you can go this far without stepping over the boundaries'. There needs to be more emphasis on the positive. We are told to support students but we aren't getting much. . . To be told 'it's going to be good--you are going to change things. You are competent and we have faith in you.' You have to have confidance to teach confidance."

Susan shared some of the personal contexts in her decision. She described her life as an undergraduate:

"I was up at 6:00--I worked as a teaching assisstant from 7:30-11:30 every morning in a resource specialist room.. I also had a waitress job on the weekends. I had a long distance boyfriend so my social life was

minimal. At the same time I carried 15-18 units a quarter. It took me 4½ years to graduate because I worked more one semester and only took 6 or 9 units."

As far as extra activities:

"I didn't have much time! I swam everyday off and on and ran. I was close with my roommates and had dinners and went to the movies with them. I was not a partyer and never lived in the dorms. Friday and Saturday nights I spent waitressing. I would sometimes go out afterwards with people at work."

Prior to entering the credential program:

"I was living in Kansas and working at a mundane job and trying to resolve a crisis with my former long distance boyfriend--I have much more emotional well-being than I do now. Finally I decided to leave Kansas--I knew if I stated the rest of my life would be involved in following him."

Susan saw the last six months of her life as a "transition time". Prior to then her boyfriend Scott had been the prime mover in her life. Susan felt Scott had not taken her very seriously. Scott didn't take teaching very seriously either--he was a photojournalist.

In our last interview Susan summed up the relative costs/benefits of her credential program experience:

". . . . any cost involved is mostly in having dropped out not in starting it. Having the credential would be having one more thing behind me. The additional 6 months in the program would have given me a little more validity in the eyes of future employers and schools."

The benefits were:

"-the experience itself. I would never have known what I wanted or didn't want It taught me about interacting with children and adults--it taught me that I didn't want the lifestyle I thought I did."

We also discussed my Susan Hyposthesis: that she thought kids would be the main emphasis in teaching--they were not . The tasks and content were and she preferred the tasks and content of another field?

"I agree--I miss the kids and that interaction. That part was super enjoyable. Someway, sometime to work with kids again--perhaps on a community level, teaching swimming or something would be great. But I know it has to be on a more relaxed level and in a situation that is more egalitarian than teaching."

When asked if there was anything she would like to add to her story Susan stated:

> "There were definitely people who influenced my decision. My sister and the man she is living with gave me lots of emotional support. They were really pro my decision to quit. They have a really liberal/alternative lifesyle and I respect their judgement. They were definitely a factor in my decision. I felt lucky to have their support. I did not get alot of negative feedback. My boss initially tried to discourage me but two friends of his stopped in who were teachers and they said: 'Don't teach school'."

Case Three: Diana Hillston

Diana Hillston is 22 years old, a native Californian, has "always wanted to be a teacher", and has dreams of breaking into t.v. commercial work next year and at the same time is preparing a portfolio for possible commercial art work. I spent 3-4 hours with Diana during spring quarter while she told her story of not becoming a teacher. I often found Dana outside sunning herself when I arrived for an interview, then we would move inside the apartment she shared with 3 other girls for the interview itself.

Diana applied to the credential program at UCSB during her senior year. She had wanted to be a teacher "forever". She had also been accepted into the credential program at USC, but was concerned about a placement in L.A. city schools. The prospect of staying in Santa Barbara was attractive and she had heard that the "program was good here".

When asked what attractions teaching had held for her, Diana stated that as a child she had liked "to play school". She "liked to be with kids" and felt she was "good with them". Basically Dana felt it was the kids--"not the authority thing". Dana stated: "I don't love authority the way many teachers do".

Her mother is a school speech therapist and Diana feels she was an influence on her decision. Her whole family looked upon teaching as a positive career for Diana:

> "Growing up. . . that (teaching) was the thing for women to do. I always enjoyed it also. I began in high school volunteering. No one put down teaching as a career-- it was always seen as positive."

The decision became real for her "probobaly in her sophomore year". It was then she started preparatory work--preprofessional work and course prerequisites. Dana majored in psychology--first because she thought it was a good major for teaching and then it fed further into her decision since teaching was a good place to apply what she learned.

Diana considered other occupations:

> "I was good at art--but only lately have I begun to think of it as a career. I also thought about writing and had a dream of writing for t.v. Mostly I considered creative type things."

When asked why she chose teaching over these other options, Diana replied:

> "It was more tangible. The other things were hard to get into. Perhaps just pipe dreams where I didn't really stand a chance. By going into the credential program I would have something for myself. Writing is largely luck."

Diana felt she had qualities which would make her an effective teacher:

> "That I'm personable--and still think I am, patient, enjoy being around kids, can explain things and get the point across. I also think I'm creative--I didn't feel my lessons would be cut and dried."

Teaching was quite different than she expected:

> "There is alot more responsibility than I expected. It's a 24 hour job. The myth of the easy job with a three month vacation doesn't exist! You have to do alot in teaching. You have to be willing to put your whole self into it. I'm glad I was into it and found out how intense of a job it was. I had no idea."

When asked how she now felt about herself as a teacher, Diana responded:

> "I think I'm good, but I also think that where I am in my life right now I don't think I can give what I have to give.
>
> I'm just learning to be responsible for myself-- in order to teach I would want to be at a point where I could give more. Now I don't feel I could do as well as I want.
>
> At the end of this year I will be making the transition to taking care of myself financially, etc. It will be a big deal. I want to be good at that before I take on a classroom of kids. I thought I was at the point where I could do that--but I'm not.
>
> My dad is pressuring me--he feels I wasted money for the fifth year program. I don't think I have. I just don't want to go into teaching and get burnt out right away.

> I want to concentrate on fending for myself. . . on making my own decisions. . .on being financially independent. I also want to be mobile--a teacher can't pick up and leave. I've had no break from kindergarten through graduate school. I want to support myself and move around."

When asked to tell me something about her decision, Diana said:

> "It's been made in the last month. I've received alot of pressure from my dad and I began thinking 'Am I going into teaching for him or me?' I have begun thinking about myself and I realize that I would be applying for jobs for him.
>
> I've talked to my mom and she could handle it more. She knows there aren't that many jobs and that I have to be prepared for rejection. I called a lady I worked for in Pasadena in high school. She thinks things are as bad there as here and to get a teaching job you really have to move to another state. I don't want to--I want to be happy where I live. I want to be somewhere up or down the coast.
>
> I talked to the guy I taught with last quarter. Realistically he says you have to have something else you can do.
>
> Lots of my friends in the program feel the same way. At first I didn't tell lots of people. Now I feel that I'm intelligent and that I won't starve."

When asked if her experience in the program influenced her decision, Diana said:

> "I didn't have any bad experiences. The whole experience just led to the realization that this isn't a 9-5 job. It made me realize what a responsibility it is.
>
> I liked both of the teachers I had. I didn't have any negative experiences with kids. I just learned what it was all about. Actually it's the best year I've had in school. I was into things I liked and I did well in school. I was more motivated this year than I have ever been. The people in the program are really interested in you--I wasn't a number this year. In the psych program the people weren't really teachers they were researchers.
>
> In the beginning of the program I had no doubts. After February and into the time we were beginning to student teach full time I began to examine things. When you're there all day you can't just fade into the scene like in classes."

Diana described the lifestyle she felt she would be expected to live as a teacher:

> ". . .not as much free time as I want. I'd probobaly be afraid to do alot because of being a teacher--like drinking at bars. Teachers are not thought of as 'people'. When you're a teacher you don't meet men. You don't have an opportunity to meet lots of different people. The people you socialize with are always teachers or administrators and they are have one line of thought."

Diana provided some contextual background for her decision by describing her undergraduate years:

> "They were growing years-- the most important part of the experience was social. I was disappointed with the classes-- I would get really excited about the course descriptions and they'd be disappointing. It was hard to grow up socially--my GPA was reflective of that. Decisionmaking was really hard for me. I was involved in a relationship with a guy and something was always going wrong. In high school I didn't even talk to boys."

It hasn't been until this year that Diana has felt "good" about herself. Diana's boyfriend was involved in "bringing her down" alot. They broke up this year after a three year relationship. Diana feels if next year they were going to be living together she would be more willing to be confined and teaching would be more attractive.

Diana sees herself as much busier this year than as an undergraduate. She is up at 7 and out of the apartment from 8-4. She often finds herself so tired that she goes to sleep immediately when she gets home. In the evenings she does things with friends or works on school things. Diana sees the next few years as definitely transition years. She is learning to be more independent from her parents. The decision not to teach disappointed them. It was hard to put herself first. She thought at 23 she would be married. Now the relationship with the person she thought she would marry is kaput. She had planned to finish her schooling and credential and then get married.

When asked to assess the costs/benefits of her credential program experience Diana stated that she is glad that:

> ". . .I went through it and glad I got the credential. The experience helped me become organized and helped me get my act together. I had a responsibility to perform and did it. I don't feel I wasted my parents money.

> My mom thinks I'm scared to apply for jobs. My brother is in law school at Pepperdine and has lots of drive. My father looks at everything from a money point of view rather than a personal one and a happiness viewpoint. If I didn't have any skills I would be concerned about money. But I do have skills and I'm more concerned about happiness."

In another context Diana had connected her renewed interest in commercial art with her credential program experience:

> "I loved doing artwork for bulletin boards in rooms while I was student teaching. I want to get into commercial art with some company--yet I haven't really prepared for it. I hope the credential will say something about me. I'm beginning to take some pictures of work I've done."

When asked if there was anything she would like to add to her story, Diana stated:

> "It was a good program--my concerns are personal."

6. Results

Generalizability:

The characteristics of the sample correlate highly with the national population of students in teacher training programs.[10] Two-thirds are female, the majority white, were undergraduate social science majors, are attending a university less than 100 miles from their home, speak only one language, and are basically middle class. The primary samples in both years may be untypical in that all were rated a "1"--the top rating-- when they went through the screening procedures to enter this program.

Personal Issues:

The decision not to teach was seen by all of the primary subjects as an "inner directed" decision the purpose of which was to satisfy their own needs. To seek a teaching job at this point was seen as following an "other directed" path-- it would please their families, etc. Pursuing a teaching career was seen as an a positive career path by all of the subjects' families. The family backgrounds and pressures the subjects experienced fit Lortie's generalization that lower/middle class males go into teaching to climb up the status ladder one rung and upper middle class females tend to go into teaching for reasons of security and respectability. (The male case study's father is a truck driver, and his brother a police officer. The two female case study subjects are both from upper middle class professional families.)

Both women in the case studies ended long term (3 or more years) relationships shortly before they decided not to seek a teaching position. The "not to teach" decision was made in the context of rethinking independence issues in other areas of their lives. The male subject's decision was made in the context of a strong "tap on the shoulder" by a mentor which allowed him to jump beyond his expected social status.

Reasons Given for Decisions:

All were based on value conflicts. Bob felt a conflict between the extrinsic rewards offered in teaching and his desire for the "good life". Susan had basic conflicts with the values orientation of the public school structure. Diana was conflicted over the fact that the "moral" and "responsibility" aspects of teaching might impinge upon her personal freedom.

"Persuaders" and "Dissuaders":

It is possible to visually chart "persuaders" and "dissuaders" as seen by all of the subjects in figure 2. "Persuaders" were points seen in favor of seeking a teaching job; "Dissuaders" were seen as those points against.

fig. 2

"Persuaders"	"Dissuaders"
Contact with children Tangible career option Parents' view Human climate of credential program	Inability to commit "whole self" to teaching Responsibility Lack of intellectual engagement Structure of teaching--not hooked by tasks Job market Burned-out teachers Societal view of teachers Social status of teachers Conflict with value orientation of schools

Dan Lortie in his major work Schoolteacher describes what he calls the "five attractors" of teaching vital to the recruitment process.[11] It is interesting to note both the fit and discrepency between his findings and the findings of this study.

Lortie's first attractor is that of the "Interpersonal Theme":

> One of the most obvious characteristics of teaching is that it calls for protracted contact with young people. To cite this as an attraction seems almost tautological, but this is not so when we compare teaching with other kinds of work; very few occupations involve such steady interaction with the young....[12]

The opportunity for contact with children was seen as the chief "persuader" by the subjects in this study.

The "Service Theme"[13] is the second attractor to teaching identified by Lortie. Not only was the opportunity to provide societal service not identified as a persuader by any of this study's subjects but the extreme "responsibility" of teaching was listed as a dissuader. The question of whether it was possible to do "good" for children within the structure of the school system was raised by several subjects.

Several subjects raised the point of being initially attracted to teaching because school had been a place they enjoyed being. Lortie calls this the "Continuation Theme".[14] In the credential program year, however, as the subjects were allowed the opportunity to move to the other side of the desk and into the teachers' lounge, the opportunity for continuation in the existing system of schooling often became a dissuader rather than a persuader.

The opportunity for material benefits and economic security occurred in a very different context for the subjects in this study than for Lortie's subjects in the 1960's.[15] The school system in which these subjects performed their student teaching had experienced declining enrollment since the early 1970's and was in the process of giving off lay-off notices to teachers hired in 1969. Proposition 13 had seriously undercut the funding base

of the public school system in California. Both employment insecurity and dismal prospects for increases in teacher salaries provided the context for "material benefits and economic security" as a possible attractor to teaching.

The theme of time compatability was not seen as a persuader or attractor to the field of teaching by the subjects. Both male and female subjects saw summer employment as a necessity to maintain their economic well being in the future if they chose to become a teacher. Competing family responsibilities were not yet an issue in their lives.

Further dissuaders were identified by both male and female subjects. Female subjects expressed a keen awareness (in contrast to Lortie's subjects) that teaching was not their only career alternative. Choosing to become a teacher meant not to choose to become a lawyer or a commercial artist. The societal view of teachers and social status afforded teachers in the 1980's were seen as general dissuaders.

Competency:

It is important to make some inferences about the role that competency played in the decisions. Data was collected on others' views of several subjects' competency during the course of the study. One teacher supervisior shared her relief when whe found out that Diana was not going to seek a teaching job (Diana had shared this information with her after the study began). She described Diana as "totally flat in her teaching". She expressed concerns that "she acts and looks as if she's anorexic--she has so little energy in the classroom".

Bob Smith's master teacher happened to be an acquaintance of the researcher. His summary of Bob as a teacher--out of the context of this study-- was "He's a great guy and has lots of

potential, but he's so interested and involved in other things he doesn't take the time he needs to really pull it off-- a good teacher can't be more interested in what's happening in the teachers' lounge than in the classroom".

Susan herself alluded often to the high stress of the classroom. She spoke of her need to protect her "emotional well-being". It may be that Susan's system analysis of the problem was the way she rationalized her own stress in the classroom environment.

Several other of the secondary subjects' names were familiar to the researcher-- their names had been discussed in a "problems" context among faculty members of the School of Education. Yet, none of the subjects stated that their own feelings about their competency as a teacher played any part in their decisions. One student in the initial screening interview said she had doubts about her competency, but was going to apply and look anyway hoping her real problem was only a lack of experience.

Concerns Model:

The development of teacher concerns model[16] hypothesizes that student teachers move through a continuum of concerns first with self, then with content, and finally with students. The infrequent mention of content or children as the subjects described their experiences led the researcher to speculate there was a bias in the interview questions. Still the issues were noticeably absent. The opportunity to delve into new content, the chance to design and write curriculum, to explore the application of learning theory, etc. was not an issue to the subjects. The question remains to be investigated in the future whether current structures of the public schools limited the students experiencing of these as "tasks of teaching".

Costs/Benefits:

Americans in general have a difficulty with labeling something they have invested a year of their life in as a "waste". There is a strong cultural bias towards "experience as the best teacher". Bearing in mind this context, all of the subjects had no regrets in having gone through the credential program. As one subject said: "The benefits were 10 times the cost".

The benefits of pursuing a credential even if they had decided not to teach were:

1. Many skills learned in the credential program were seen as transferrable e.g. organizational skills, accepting responsibility, learning self discipline.
2. All felt teaching credentials would give them extra validity in the eyes of future employers.
3. Monetary costs seemed minimal-- it bought them a year to grow up and postpone decisions.

7. Summary/Immplications

The chief implication of this study is that costs for students of not pursuing a teaching career seemed to be minimal to the subjects themselves, but costs for society of changing recruitment patterns may be high. Teaching may no longer serve as the chief mobility avenue for lower class males or the only alternative for career oriented females. Recruitment may serve to "control" entry to persons with a high need for achievement or a desire to change the system. Moral aspects of teaching linger over the heads of 1980's young adults who are in the process of making a commitment to teaching.

The illustrative case studies provide us with descriptions of the processes involved in becoming "turned off" to teaching after an initial commitment to the teaching field has been made. "Persuaders" and "Dissuaders" may be similar earlier in the decision process. Unfortunately, the subjects in this study point out the need for teacher educators to combat "dissuaders" to the recruitment of teachers. The "attractors" of teaching do not serve as adequate

recruitment tools in the 1980's.

8. Addendum

A two year follow-up on the subjects in this study provides an interesting twist . At the end of both credential years each subject had stated a clear decision "not to teach". At the same time two out of three of the illustrative cases left the university environment bound for other career options with credential in hand.

Diana Hillston tried to make an entry into t.v. commercial work but found it an extremely competitve field. She is now substitute teaching, working part time as a waitress and still talking about "putting together my portfolio for commercial art work". When the day to day pressures of financial independence became a reality Diana found that substitute teaching provided the highest renumeration of various job alternatives, provided freedom from responsibility, and was the only field in which she was truly trained.

Bob Smith is an especially interesting case. He spent a year in public relations work as planned then found his firm had lost several contracts due to the economic recession. The economic insecurity of his position led him to return to Southern California. At the point Bob returned this researcher had moved into a position as a school administrator and had a second/third grade teaching position open in her school. Bob interviewed for the position and was hired.

Susan Johnson is continuing in non-career related work. She was saving for law school but had not yet applied when last contacted. Since she is the only case study who actually dropped out of the credential program while a subject, she is the only subject lacking "credentials" to seek a teaching position.

Lortie describes a pattern of recruitment into teaching that he calls "entry under constraint":

> Models which stress rational considerations in occupational choice may lead us to overestimate the freedom enjoyed by those selecting work; psychological theories may also disregard life contingencies which make any particular selection something other than the pure expression of personality needs. Occupations recruit people who in different circumstances might have made different rational choices or found more congeniel ways to express their personalities.[17]

Two years after its inception this study could appropriately be re-entitled "Entry upon Constraint into the Teaching Profession". The decision not to teach, when one has completed the appropriate credentials, cannot be seen as a permanent one. Findings, results and implications originally intended to describe recruitment that failed have new implications when viewed as processes in socialization and work identification.

Notes

[1]See Howey et al "Survey of Preservice Teacher Education" in Improving Teacher Education. Washington, D.C., Association of Teacher Educators, 1978.

[2]See Lortie, Dan C. Schoolteacher Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1975 and Bidwell, Charles "The School as a Formal Organization", 1965.

[3]See Lortie, 1975.

[4]See Becker, Howard S. Sociological Work: Method and Substance. New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books, 1970.

[5]See Levinson, Daniel J. et al Seasons of a Man's Life. Ballantine Books, N.Y. 1978. Scarf, Maggie. Unfinished Business: Pressure Points in the Lives of Women. Garden City, N.Y. Doubleday and Co. 1980. Sheehy, Gail. Passages. New York, Bantam Books, 1976.

[6]See Fuller, Frances. "Teacher Education: A Cognitive Concerns Model". Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, University of Texas at Austin, 1965.

[7]See Medley, D.M."Teacher Competence and Teacher Effectiveness: A Review of Process-Product Research". Washington, D.C. American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, 1977.

[8]See Howey et al

[9]One of the interesting outcomes of the second full year of research was that during the course of this year of intensive involvement students moved in and out of the role of primary subject i.e. they decided "not to teach" than "to teach" than "not to teach" again.

[10]See Howey et al

[11]See Lortie, 1975, chapter 2

[12]See Lortie, 1975, page 27.

[13]See Lortie, 1975, page 28.

[14]See Lortie, 1975, page 29.

[15]See Lortie, 1975, pages 30-31, 33-34.

[16]See Fuller, Frances.

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